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ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on issues related to the cultural aspects of sex equity and schooling in American society. It begins with a framework of assumptions that relate the discipline of anthropology to concepts of equity. Education or schooling is discussed as a special form of socialization, and four operational elements are cited that are displayed in equitable schooling: access; treatment; allocation of resources; and awareness, evaluation, and program correction. A review is provided of the literature of occupational choice in American culture, occupational socialization (effects of different socializing influences on occupational preferences, including influences of parents, peers, television, school books, teachers and counselors), and programs of nontraditional vocational training. A developmental model is provided for a set equity program that includes these stages: awareness, analysis, access and action, affirmation and allocation of resources, and acceptance. These recommendations for promoting equity are made: intensified research by social scientists, monitoring systems at state and local levels, development of decisions models for a continuum of equity from school to workplace, and policy decisions and actions based on research data indicating that sex-role socialization takes place early in life. (YLB)

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# EQUITY FROM AN ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

by

**Henrietta Schwartz**

**SUMMARY** Vocational educators have grappled with equity as a problem and have espoused it as a cause since 1963 when Congress issued both an equity mandate and an equity challenge with the passage of the Vocational Education Act. This paper is one of seventeen reports commissioned by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education to meet the equity challenge through a multidisciplinary approach encompassing three perspectives—academic, vocational education, and special interest group advocacy.

The following paper focuses on issues related to the cultural aspects of sex equity and schooling in American society and begins with a framework of assumptions that relate the discipline of anthropology to concepts of equity. Schools are defined as a subset of the culture. Eight universal aspects of behavior common to each classroom, school, community, and culture are described. The eight universal aspects of behavior along with a definition of cultural pluralism are used as the conceptual foundations for an extensive review of literature related to sex equity in socialization, schooling, occupational segregation, and attitudes about women's roles held by both women and men. The paper concludes with recommendations for promoting equity.

## INTRODUCTION

Fair distribution of goods, services, and opportunities in American culture has come to be referred to as equity. The extension of privileges to groups that have been denied education; job opportunities; services; and the right to live, vote, speak, and worship as they wish because of real or perceived differences has been an expressed value in America since its revolutionary birth. The Constitution guaranteed life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness; it gave slaves freedom and women the right to vote. In other words, everyone was to have an equal right to "make it." But a parallel strand in the culture is that of individual self-reliance. That is, the benefits of the society are reaped by the individual who is competitive, aggressive, acquisitive, and independent. People who have more material possessions than others have "made it." These sometimes conflicting

core values of fierce, competitive self-reliance and cooperative,sharing egalitarianism have been referred to by some social scientists as the American dilemma.

The implementation of the concept of equity for all achieved greater prominence in America in the post-World War II era. Much has been said and written about equal opportunity in all areas for racial, ethnic, and religious minority groups; for handicapped individuals; for the urban poor; for the rural isolate; for Native Americans between two cultures; for immigrants; for the very old; for the very young; and for almost any special group in the culture. A whole field of study called multicultural education is devoted to ways in which education might enhance equity. This paper focuses on issues related to the cultural aspects of sex equity and schooling in American society.

Why sex equity? The issues related to sex equity are applicable to any population that has experienced discrimination on the basis of being different from whatever constitutes the "mainstream" at a given time and place. Any group that has been systematically denied the opportunity to participate in the economic, legal, social, political, and linguistic benefits of the society has been denied equity. Interestingly enough, the anthropologist sees that the historical concern for equity has not focused on the biological differences between men and women, but rather on cultural, subcultural, regional, racial, and acquired differences. Yet the most obvious universal difference has been overlooked. Broad-based, legal and social concern about variable treatment in all aspects of life solely on the basis of gender is a relatively new phenomenon in Western society that has grown with the emergence of high technology. Sex equity is not much of an issue in tribal and traditional cultures with clearly defined roles for the sexes. Further, sex equity may be the most difficult kind of equity to implement, because of its very pervasiveness, because of early sex role socialization, and because of basic biological differences A new definition of equity may evolve as our society struggles to accommodate differences without discrimination and to endorse common treatments which allow


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for unequal outcomes. For these reasons and in order to grapple with the delicious paradox of achieving equity for inherently different groups, sex equity was selected as the touchstone for the consideration of insights which anthropology might provide.

## ANTHROPOLOGY AND EQUITY—SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

Each of us lives each day as if we were immortal. If we did not, we would never plan ahead, care for children, save money, go to work, or learn new things. Each of us must in some way be convinced of our ability to make an impact on the future, or we would stop living in the present and be unconcerned about our behavior and its effects on others. Members in good standing of their respective cultures and role sets are concerned about others' expectations of them. We want other people to think well of us, to protect us, to respect us, to help us survive, and we want some of them to love us. In other words, each of us, in our own way, strives for security, status, and sociability. As individuals we need these elements to achieve cultural, social, and economic competence; self-esteem; and the affection of others. We tend to affiliate with institutions and groups that will enhance the realization of our feelings of security, status, and sociability. We build ways of behaving and believing to achieve these desired ends; we build cultures.

When something happens that threatens one or more of these areas (security, status, and sociability), or that is perceived as a threat, the tendency is to resist that force. Every time an individual is asked to make a change in behavior, the change typically is viewed in terms of its impact on one of these three areas of the individual's private life. When individuals and groups are asked to share neighborhoods, schools, and job opportunities with persons whose appearance, sex, age, ethnic origin, behavior, and beliefs are different than their own, the tendency is to reject that request.

When, by legislative and moral imperative, members of a culture are compelled to change their perceptions and interactions with females, the threats to security, status, and sociability are even more pronounced. According to Van Gennep (1960, p. 189), "Two primary divisions are characteristic of all societies irrespective of time and place: the sexual separation between men and women, and the magico-religious separation between the profane and the sacred." Given this basic

assumption of all societies, this discussion will focus on the issues of sex equity and vocational education as they might be illuminated by the discipline of anthropology.

Anthropologists concern themselves with habitual behaviors, individual and group, inherited and learned (Oliver 1964). They concern themselves with human beings in institutional settings including examination of the strain and imposition group living places on individuals. They study culture, which is everything that man is and does (Herskovits 1949). To accomplish this seemingly overwhelming task, anthropologists use special ways of looking at the world and its parts, and special techniques for investigating that part of human behavior they wish to study. The three basic research techniques of the cultural anthropologist are observation, interview, and content analysis of documents and artifacts. Each of these techniques has been used to examine the issue of sex role development, schooling, and equity in American culture by a series of anthropologists over the last fifty years.

Many anthropologists are action researchers engaged in investigations to solve immediate practical problems, and their efforts are referred to as applied anthropology (White 1949). Applied anthropology and the studies that result from this technique serve to raise individual cultural awareness, that is, what is it in people's beliefs, backgrounds, and social situations that makes them act the way they do? Educators realize that children do not come to school a tabula rasa, a blank page, but bring with them a background with values, norms, special language patterns, a belief system, and some understanding of the mainstream culture's technology, economic system, government, and social structure. Frequently, one or more of these aspects of the student's subculture are in conflict with the values of and behavior expected by the school and the teachers. The result is conflict in the student which may be acted out in the classroom, school, and community. Applied anthropological studies can help to pinpoint the probable roots of cultural conflict in a given situation, as well as provide information about the culture of a school, a community, or a classroom. Such studies point up the similarities and differences between the social system and individual behavior and allow one to look at a situation from a holistic point of view (Spindler 1963). Educators concerned with the world of work and its special values and technology must deal with another dimension in the attempt to socialize the student to the norms of the wider community and the specific vocation (Schwartz et al. 1974).

## THE CULTURAL UNIVERSALS FRAMEWORK

The anthropologist looks at schools as subcultures and at classrooms as subsystems of those subcultures. Schools and classrooms, like other systems of human behavior, build cultures which are complex, probabilistic, and self-regulating. Also, like cultures, most schools and classrooms can be observed to have purposes, patterns, and some form of coherence. One can view schools and classrooms in terms of some commonly accepted anthropological constructs or universals (Herskovits 1949, pp. 227-440). These universal aspects of classrooms and schools are built as the adult teacher transmits knowledge to the neophyte student and as they both draw upon the values, skills, knowledge, and attitudes to be learned from the curriculum materials. The whole process is called education, or schooling, a special form of the general procedure known as socialization.

There are about eight *universal patterns* that can be identified in the socialization process. Each classroom, school, community, and culture has some way of handling these universal aspects of behavior, but each culture or subculture displays a unique way of doing so. For example, all cultures and subcultures have a *value system*, which indicates the preferred ways of doing things or distinguishes between what is good and what is bad. All have a *cosmology or world view*, which specifies what constitutes reality in the school, the community, the church, or the classroom. Each cultural unit has some form of *social organization*, which governs individual and group relationships, even to the point of determining forms of verbal address. Each system has a *technology*, a body of knowledge and skills used to perform the tasks necessary for the system to function and survive. There is an *economic system*, which regulates the allocation of goods and services in the school and the classroom. Further, there is a form of *governance or a political system* regulating individual and institutional behavior that specifies how decisions are made and who participates in what decisions. Typically, there is a special *language* uniquely suited to the educational process or the subject matter of the classroom. Finally, there is a *socialization process or educational process*, which regularizes the transmission of knowledge to the neophytes, the unlearned ones in the group. It should be emphasized that the cultural universals model is only one of many conceptual frameworks that an anthropologist uses to look at the world.

The cultural universals model is uniquely suited to looking at equity in schooling and culture, for it assumes that each culture and subculture is as "good" or "bad" as every other subculture, as long as it permits most of its members to achieve satisfactory levels of security, status, and sociability. When most of the members of the culture do not perceive that they are safe, respected, and loved, then one can predict that revolutionary or evolutionary changes in various aspects of the lifeway of the group will ensue.

## THE ANTHROPOLOGIST'S VIEW OF EQUITY AS CULTURAL PLURALISM

My definition of equity starts from a base of cultural pluralism as defined by Havighurst (1974). It assumes that group living implies imposition and that newcomers must be socialized to the culture to which they aspire. The basic assumptions of the approach are that to achieve equity in a society, the socialization agency, which is the school, must transmit the following:

1. Competence in the mainstream culture and the ability to use the knowledge, skills, attitudes, and relationships of this system

2. Mutual appreciation and understanding of every subculture and special group by each individual

3. Freedom for each group to practice its lifeway and to socialize its children into that lifeway

4. Sharing by each group in the economic, political, civil, and social life of the society

From these assumptions, an operational definition of equity in schooling, and more specifically, in schooling directly related to preparation for the world of work can be developed. Four operational elements may be identified. Schooling which is equitable displays the following:

1. *Access.* Is there equal access for boys and girls to quality services and programs, guidance and counseling services, career preparation and training

programs, curricular and extracurricular activities, work-study programs, and so forth?

2. *Treatment.* Are males and females portrayed equitably, and are students treated equally in class activities, student-teacher relationships, classroom climate, coeducational programming, counseling and guidance services, curriculum guides, distribution of physical facilities, vocational programs, and so forth? Specifically, is the language used in these items or activities sexist? What kinds of role models are presented and implemented?

3. *Allocation of Resources.* How are faculty and students assigned to classes? Are class schedules designed to accommodate the special needs of males and females? Are support services available to permit working mothers to receive vocational education (e.g., day care facilities or baby-sitting services)? What are the recruitment practices? Are fiscal resources equitably distributed to support programs promoting sex equity?

4. *Awareness, Evaluation, and Program Correction.* Has the agency or school collected data indicating the level of awareness of the issue of sex equity among the educational staff? Have the data been used to institute programs to raise levels of awareness or remedy biases? Have attempts been made to articulate equitable programs among the various levels and components of the vocational education agency program in the system? Have employment data (in terms of trends, forecasts, and projections) been collected and distributed to staff and students? Is sex equity implemented in the school's programs, tolerated benignly, neglected, or actively discouraged? Access is not enough to ensure equity. Since many more elements are necessary, it is clear that action beyond access is required to achieve sex equity.

## THE NEED, THE PROBLEM, AND THE RESEARCH

Sociologists, anthropologists, and economists have indicated that the family and work systems in the United States are caught up in an experience of social change (Mead 1978). Women are assuming more prominent roles in the labor force as indicated by the following statistics: (1) in 1975, the husband was the sole breadwinner in only thirty-four of every hundred husband-wife families; (2) thirty-seven percent of married women with preschool children worked outside the home

in 1976, as compared to only 13 percent of such women in 1948; and (3) fifty percent of the mothers of school-aged children worked outside the home at least part-time. These figures can be expected to increase (Advisory Committee on Child Development 1976). Women are being drawn into the labor force today by powerful political, economic, and social forces, as well as by far-reaching attitudinal changes. The large-scale movement of women into the work force raises the possibility of creating an improved society in the United States. Within the dynamics of this movement of social change, the perceptions of the American people are also changing. Traditional attitudes and values which supported the perceptual stereotypes held by Americans have begun to be reexamined by those who are concerned with preserving the most desirable traditions in the American way of life. One of these traditions focuses on the question of equity—political, economic, and eduational. Within the sphere of social concerns today, there exists the specific problem of equity for women.

A review and synthesis of research on women in the world of work (Kievet 1972) indicates that not only are women's salaries generally lower than men's for comparable types of work, but there exists an underutilization of women's abilities and educational achievement due to discriminatory practices. Studies such as those conducted by the U.S. Civil Service Commission in 1967 and 1970 reported that women are achieving only occasional breakthroughs outside the traditional "women's fields." Entry of a significant number of women into executive-management positions is not indicated. For example, in Illinois, women are underrepresented in positions of educational administration (Richardson 1977). Occupational and vocational training and job choices for women are limited.

Doing nothing and going nowhere not only describes the life of women who become housewives and mothers without clear personal goals for the future, but also the occupational life of most women in the labor force. As we are all aware, the occupational spread of women is clustered in low paying, low level jobs. As service workers, women most frequently cluster in the lowest paid category of domestic housecleaners. Men are building superintendents or porters, which are lowly jobs, but are granted more status than the housemaid. Women are school teachers, but men become primary school principals; women are secretaries and gal Fridays, but men are junior account executives (Epstein 1973). Although the Bureau of Labor Statistics 1976-77 edition of the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* introduced nonsexist job titles, research suggests that the problem of

discrimination against women in the world of work continues to exist within the context of the American social culture.

Programs to prepare women for employment have been designed and implemented in junior high and secondary schools, postsecondary institutions, private firms, and community agencies. However, young women perceive a narrow range of vocational possibilities for themselves for a number of reasons, including their fear of venturing into a man's world (Karman 1973), or their limited exposure to professional role models who are female (Notman and Nadelson 1973, pp. 1123-1127). Legislation affording equal occupational opportunity to women is on the books, but the normative stereotype for the female as a worker has inhibited the implementation of the law, thus resulting in cultural lag.

The addition of a wife's income has assisted families in fighting inflation and improving their living standard. Those two-parent families with only one income earner and single men or women with children have had comparatively greater problems maintaining their financial position. Generally, women's earnings are three-fifths those of men for full-time work; overall, their median earned income in 1975 was only two-fifths that of men. This is, to some degree, because of their predominance in part-time work. In addition, the earning capacity of a female head of household is further limited because her educational attainment and level of skill development tend to be rather low (Pifer 1976).

Our educational system may be partly responsible for these phenomena, in that it reinforces traditional sex-role stereotypes into which women are guided, i.e., the conventional occupational roles of teacher, secretary, librarian, nurse, housewife, and so forth. Occupational choices of junior and senior high school girls are limited in potential number and type by the perceptual stereotypes of teachers, counselors, and significant others in the culture of the school. Particularly in the schools, the adult personnel who interact with young women reflect their own social and cultural biases in preparing students for vocational selection, thus limiting the range of choice and training for the junior and senior high school girl.

Historically, sex discrimination at the elementary and secondary levels has been an accepted mode of behavior. Dual pay schedules for male and female public school teachers have not been uncommon. Until World War II, married and pregnant women were often disqualified from teaching. Research has documented the finding that boys and girls are often subject to different treatment in schools

(Clement 1975). Former Commissioner Marland's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Eduation Programs on Women describes the situation:

> With respect to collecting information on women, OE has not fulfilled its oldest mandate. Despite growing concern about sex discrimination, information comparing the status of men and women in education is still limited. Few national studies have been collected to supplement piecemeal information on sex discrimination that has come to light in recent years. Accurate information on women in education is essential to education policymakers and interested citizens in determining the extent and degree of sex discrimination supported by educational institutions. In turn, agency officials will find it difficult to identify and overcome sex discrimination in their own programs without accurate information on their impact on women (Commissioner's Task Force on the Impact of Office of Education Programs on Women 1972, p.58).

Recently, some promising improvement in achieving sex equity has come from the efforts of working women's organizations and other women's interest groups in exerting pressure on government and employers to implement equal employment and equal pay laws and to remedy the effects of past inequities through affirmative action. The entry barriers to many traditionally gender-related jobs have been lifted, allowing a certain number of women to enter male-dominated occupations. Since 1960, the rate of increase of women in the skilled crafts has exceeded that of men. Greatest advances have been achieved in the professions by highly educated women (Pifer, p.7).

Awareness of the crucial role of education in preparing women for the world of work has led to extensive legislation promoting equal educational opportunity. Beginning in 1977, Public Law 94-482 required educational institutions to initiate programs to overcome sex discrimination and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs and to make all courses accessible to males and females. As an example, the Illinois Comprehensive Plan for Program Improvement (McCage) authorizes the state education agency to utilize funds for the following purposes: (a) research projects on ways to overcome sex bias and sex stereotyping in vocational education programs; (b) development of curriculum materials free of sex stereotyping; (c) development of criteria for use in determining whether curriculum materials are free from sex stereoptyping; and (d) training to acquaint guidance counselors, administrators, and teachers with ways of effectively overcoming sex bias and assisting girls and women in selecting careers.

Sextyping in occupations is pervasive (Schreiber and Asser, 1978). While sextyping limits choices for both men and women, it is particularly constraining for women because so few occupations are perceived as being appropriate for them. Most of the 37 million women working during 1976 were occupationally segregated; 50 percent of women worked in just twenty-one occupations, whereas 50 percent of men worked in sixty-five occupations (Farmer and Backer 1977).

Not only do women have access to a smaller range of jobs, but the jobs for which they are considered are lower in status and income than traditionally male occupations (see table 1). In 1977, women accounted for 41 percent of the total work force; 56.9 percent of all women, ages eighteen to sixty-four were working (Women's Bureau 1978). Nine out of ten women will work sometime during their lives, and nearly 60 percent of them will work out of economic necessity (Women Employed 1977).

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL INCOME BY SEX, 1974

| | Females | Males |
|---|---|---|
| Less than $3000 | 8.4% | 4.6% |
| $3000-$4999 | 17.6% | 4.7% |
| $5000-$6999 | 27.0% | 9.0% |
| $7000-$9999 | 28.8% | 19.4% |
| $10,000-$14,999 | 14.7% | 33.3% |
| more than $15,000 | 3.5% | 28.9% |

Source: Women's Bureau. The Economic Gap Between Women and Men. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Labor, Employment Standards Administration, August 1977.

Further figures refute the rationalization that women's wages, representing second incomes in families, need not be equal to those of men Fifty-six percent of working women are single, divorced, separated, or have husbands who earn less than $7000 annually (Women's Bureau 1977). The emphasis has shifted from questioning whether women will continue to work to planning what their work will be.

Much of the income gap can be attributed to the fact that women are primarily employed in clerical and low-paying service jobs. The potential solution to the problem is to prepare nonprofessionally oriented women for traditionally male occupations, such as mechanics, carpentry, and plumbing, which are better paid then clerical and service occupations. The solution may not be quite that simple, however, since women employed as craft and kindred workers in 1974 earned 54 percent of what men in those crafts earned (Women's Bureau 1976). By 1980, women were earning 59 percent of what men earned for the same jobs.

Today, there are laws to protect women from job and educational discrimination. Particularly in elementary and secondary education, the letter of the law is for the most part obeyed. It would be surprising to see a school administrator bar entrance to a shop class that a girl wanted to attend. Nevertheless, subtle psychological pressures are brought to bear to keep males and females in sex-stereotyped roles. The educational system has moved from a set of both formal and informal sex roles to a set of informal sex roles only (Holter 1975). The informal role expectations are internalized so that negative sanctions and overt discrimination are unnecesssary to keep people in their expected roles.

The theory most helpful in explaining the dynamics and durability of sex-typed behavior is role theory, a specific socialization theory. A role is a set of expectations about the rights and duties and the expected behavior associated with a particular position in a social structure. These expectations are learned through the socialization processes of the culture. A role does not exist in isolation; roles exist in complementary sets. There are no daughters without mothers; no students without teachers. A role partner is the person occupying a complementary role. It is the interaction between the role partner and the role incumbent which determines the rights, duties, and appropriate behavior for each of their roles. Goode (1960) theorized that three factors were most important in determining whether a person would enact a role according to expectations. A person may desire to accept a role

because (I) it is intrinsically gratifying and enhances one's security, status, and sociability, or is consistent with one's internalized values; (2) it is accompanied by rewards or punishments; or (3) the approval of the role partner(s) may be important.

It is likely that all three of the above factors operate to keep men and women in sex-stereotyped occupations. All women and men have internalized cultural values about the appropriateness of certain activities for each sex—they may be punished with exclusion from jobs and social groups for failure to act in traditional roles, and they are likely to receive more approval for acting in traditional roles.

The degree of consensus about traditional sex roles in occupations is an important factor in determining role innovations. For example, when almost everyone believes that women should not be plumbers and men should not be secretaries, it is much more difficult to introduce these new role behaviors. Roles are, however, constantly renegotiated. As individuals strive to meet their needs, they try out new behaviors to see if their role partners will accept those behaviors as appropriate. Therefore, the potential for change is always there, tempered by existing cultural role expectations that support the status quo.

Sex roles are the most basic of all roles because gender is obvious from birth. Children are socialized very early into "appropriate" sex-typed behavior, including appropriate occupations (Mead I976). Their career preparation and ultimate career choices are enactments of role-appropriate behavior. The validity of the roles is reinforced at school by teacher and counselor expectations (Wax I968). However, programs have begun to expand women's roles, to open up new career options for them, and to get them involved in nontraditional vocational training (Duck I976).

What follows is a review of the literature of occupational choice in American culture, occupational socialization, and programs of nontraditional vocational training. Only studies that use systematic, empirical analyses of program or research data have been included.

## Occupational Choice

The first task in moving toward sex equity in vocational education is to understand the kinds of occupations that girls and boys actually choose when

given a chance to express freely their occupational preferences. The data on occupational choice are absolutely clear. In study after study, in all areas of the country, it has been shown consistently that girls choose from a very narrow range of possibilities and that most of them choose to be secretaries, teachers, and nurses.

A study of junior high and high school girls in West Virginia (Rand and Miller 1972) found that while most girls planned to work, they preferred sex-stereotyped occupations. Berman (1972) analyzed the occupational choices mentioned by New York City senior high school girls in their senior yearbook. He found that over 50 percent of the total group preferred to be either a secretary, nurse, or teacher, with secretary leading the field at 20.5 percent. A total of forty-nine occupations were mentioned, but only fourteen occupations were mentioned by ten or more girls. In a study of 149 women enrolled in office occupations curricula at an Oregon community college, Peterson (1976) found that most of the women felt being a homemaker was desirable, but that becoming a business education teacher or university professor was undesirable.

A number of studies are particularly relevant to vocational education because they investigated students' feelings about entering a trade. Shinar (1975) asked male and female college students to rate the masculinity or femininity of 129 occupations. Both men and women rated the trades at the extreme end of masculinity. Based on Shinar's data, it is unlikely that either men or women perceive the trades as desirable or appropriate for women.

Prediger, Roth, and Noeth (1973) studied a national sample of 32,000 junior high and high school boys and girls. Over half the eleventh grade girls chose jobs that fell into three categories: clerical and secretarial, education and social service, and nursing and human care. Only 7 percent of the eleventh grade boys chose these categories. On the other hand, half the eleventh grade boys chose technology and trade clusters, while only 7 percent of the girls did.

There is little doubt from the data available that girls would rather be secretaries then mechanics, and boys would rather be mechanics than secretaries. What is most disconcerting is that five-year-olds have already made sex-stereotyped occupational choices. Kirchner and Vondracek (1973) studied boys and girls who were three, four, and five years old. These children were asked what they wanted to be when they grew up. Of those who responded with an occupation,

boys responded with a wider range of jobs than girls and preferred to be doctors, professional athletes, police officers, or firefighters. Girls overwhelmingly chose to be teachers and nurses, although there were a considerable number of girls who chose nontraditional occupations. Looft (1971) asked girls and boys in the first and second grades what they would really be when they grew up. The boys named eighteen occupations and preferred to be football players and police officers. The girls named only eight occupations and preferred to be nurses or teachers.

In yet another study of children, Schlossberg and Goodman (1972) asked children in kindergarten through sixth grade what they wanted to be when they grew up. They found that 83 percent of the girls and 97 percent of the boys chose jobs with traditional sex stereotypes. Furthermore, they found no increase in the amount of sex stereotyping in job preference from kindergarten through sixth grade.

There is evidence, however, of a discrepancy between real occupational aspirations and ideal aspirations. Studies by Lerner, Vincent, and Benson (1976) and by Burlin (1976) found that both young girls and high school girls choose traditionally female occupations for themselves, but see the ideal as being more egalitarian.

Overall, women aspire to be secretaries, nurses, and teachers, and they develop those aspirations at a very early age. They see some nontraditional occupations as appropriate, perhaps even ideal for women, but do not choose them for themselves. Perhaps the egalitarian norms that have been gaining prominence over the last several years are making their way into the realm of intellectual possibilities for girls. Girls are not, however, developing a commitment to enact those nontraditional roles. Moreover, they express no interest of any kind in the trades.

Boys also demonstrated an overwhelming tendency to focus on and pursue traditional roles. Young boys aspired to traditionally male dominated occupations. The Prediger, Roth, and Noeth study (1973) indicates that this orientation persists at the eleventh grade level. One potential explanation might be that by eleventh grade, males have evaluated traditionally female occupations as promising lower salaries and possessing less status and power, and therefore avoid them. An alternative explanation might be that high school age boys perceive a social stigma attached to traditionally female occupations and avoid them for that reason.

## Occupational Socialization

A number of studies have looked at the effects of different socializing influences on occupational preference. Some of the important work on occupational socialization has been done on college students or college graduates. Even though this paper focuses on people who choose vocational rather than college training, studies of college students will be reported here—in addition to studies of noncollege students—although their generalizability to a population of noncollege students may be limited.

### Parents of Noncollege Students

Kane, Frazer, and Dee (1976) did a national study of women in area vocational-technical schools, comparing women in traditional and nontraditional programs. They report that mothers had the most influence on female students in nontraditional programs, followed by husbands and fathers. Penn and Gabriel (1976) studying seventeen- to nineteen-year-old women, found that parents encouraged traditional roles with a variety of rewards and responded negatively to nontraditional decisions. These young women also reported parents as the primary influence on their career choices. Esslinger (1976) discovered the same pattern in a study of twelfth grade girls in Illinois. These girls reported mothers as being most influential in their educational preferences and choices. They said that the four most helpful sources of occupational information were people employed in an occupation, fathers, mothers, and friends. These studies illustrate the preeminent role mothers play in socializing their daughters. The evidence suggests that while mothers can influence their daughters to pursue nontraditional careers, they more often respond negatively to nontraditional roles and positively to traditional career choices.

### Parents of College Students

Several studies of college women's career choices found the choice related to mothers' employment. For example, Tangri (1972) classified college seniors as role innovators, moderates, and traditionals. She found the only background variables that predicted role innovation were mothers' being employed outside the home and mothers' being employed in nontraditional fields. In examining relationships with

parents as a factor in occupational choice, she found that being identified with father did not predict role innovation. Feeling close to father and disagreeing with mother were both negatively correlated with role innovation, while being close to mother and disagreeing with father were positively correlated with role innovation.

Roe and Seligman (1964) presented an outline of a theory for predicting occupational choice from parental attitudes toward the child. Their basic argument, derived from Roe's (1956) earlier work, was that children develop motivations or job interests based on early patterns of need satisfaction or frustration. Out of these early patterns develop two kinds of occupational interests: "toward persons and not toward persons." Hypothetically, warm, accepting parents should develop "toward persons" children, while cold, demanding parents should produce "not toward persons" children.

The "toward persons" orientation was predicted to lead to the typically female jobs of service occupations, the arts, and so forth, while a "not toward persons" orientation was predicted to lead to technologies and science. Their own study, as well as those of Hagen (1960), Utton (1960), and Switzer et al. (1962), failed to support the theory. Occupational choice was not predictable solely from parental attitudes.

The findings related to Roe's theory are very important, because they demonstrate that global personality variables which may derive from childhood experiences are not particularly salient in occupational choice. The findings therefore provide support for a role-theory conceptualization in which expectations specific to occupational choice are formulated.

**Peers**

Surprisingly little research has been done on the influence of peers on occupational choice. The study of seventeen- to nineteen-year-old women by Penn and Gabriel (1976) found that peers were second most influential, ranking just behind parents, but ahead of any school personnel. Hawley (1972) found significant differences between what nontraditional college women thought their boyfriends or husbands expected of them and what traditional students thought their boyfriends or husbands expected of them.

### Television

No research was found that directly examined the effects of television on occupational choice. The potential influence of television, however, seems so great. Sternghanz and Serbin (1974) analyzed ten programs popular with young children during 1971-72. They found that males in these programs, more often than females, were aggressive and constructive and were more often rewarded for having these traits. Females were more often punished for high levels of activity.

Clearly, television needs to be considered more closely as an occupational, socializing influence. When young people see only sex-stereotyped occupations, dramatically and appealingly presented, for twenty-five hours a week, the impact is likely to be great.

### School Influence—Books

Many studies have examined the sex stereotyping of school books, particularly for elementary students. From her review of the literature, Karr (1976) concluded that females were portrayed in traditional occupational roles, especially homemaking, were portrayed as passive, and received less frequent mention in the readers. Steiger (1974) reviewed nine textbooks and curriculum guides for courses in technical occupations. She found that teachers and workers were all referred to as "he" and pictures showed only boys and men in technical occupations.

### School Influence—Teachers and Counselors

Students report educational personnel of any kind as being less influential in occupational choice than parents (Kane, Frazer, and Dee 1976; Penn and Gabriel 1976; Esslinger 1976). They also report that teachers are more influential than counselors (Kane, Frazer, and Dee 1976; Esslinger 1976).

A fair amount of attention has been given to the problem of sex-bias in interest inventories (e.g., Diamond 1975). Interest inventories may serve to legitimize the counselor's sex stereotypes and may be tools to reinforce a young person's own sex-stereotyped role expectations.

Interest inventories are based on two rationales (Cole and Hansen 1975). The first is that people in the same occupation have the same interests. Therefore, if the person taking the test has the same interests as people who are already in an occupation, the inventory will show the person as having a high probability of being satisfied with that occupation. Second, if people like activities similar to the activities required by a job, then they will like the job activities and will be satisfied with that job. As Cole and Hansen point out, the obvious problem with such interest inventories is that they are based on past socialization and serve to reinforce the status quo. The technical aspects of testing are beyond the scope of this paper. It is important to point out, though, that at least two sex-fair tests have been devised. One is the UNIACT-IV which is a revision of the ACT-IV (Prediger and Hanson 1976). A second is the Non-Sexist Vocational Card Sort (Dewey 1974). Looking specifically at teachers, Nies (1978) found that Illinois agriculture and industrial arts teachers do not see sex equity laws as having a positive effect on the role development of students. Consequently, some resistance may be encountered as programs are evolved to bring women into traditionally male vocational training. This finding takes on greater weight in light of the previously reported findings that teachers are the most important school influence on whether or not a young woman chooses a nontraditional occupation.

Summing up the findings on occupational socialization, parents, and particularly mothers, are perceived as having the most influence on the daughter's choice of a traditional or nontraditional career. Some data indicate that peers are second most influential, whereas teachers rank third, and counselors fourth. The overwhelming direction of that socialization is to push daughters toward traditional careers. The outcome is that most girls want to be secretaries, nurses, and teachers. Recent research on socialization influences has focused on girls to the exclusion of boys. No theoretical reason exists, however, as to why the influence order should be different for the sexes.

To offset the traditional socialization girls and boys are receiving, career education programs are springing up around the country. These programs attempt to set up alternative role expectations for children and youth. For example, Project HEAR (1976) in New Jersey developed a program to widen alternatives and increase self-awareness for students in grades four through twelve. They report the following results.

1. Elementary students who took the course showed a significant increase in the number of occupations perceived as appropriate for both sexes. They also were significantly more likely than a control group to choose nontraditional occupations.

2. Middle school students who took the course had significantly more occupational information than those in the control group.

3. High school students who took the course significantly increased the number of times they chose occupations consistent with their preferences.

Vinzeni (1977) reports that a program of discussion of occupational sex stereotypes resulted in sixth grade students significantly widening their view of role appropriate behavior. A similar program with sixth grade girls done by Harris (1974) reports an increase in the number of different kinds of career choices for the girls involved in the program.

The results from all these career education projects are very encouraging, indicating that occupational sex stereotyping can be reduced by setting up new role expectations for students. Even though research shows parents to be most influential in determining occupational choice, these programs have been effective in the school setting.

**Nontraditional Vocational Training**

Several programs have been developed to introduce and encourage women to prepare for and enter traditionally male dominated vocations; none of these projects, however, report comparable programs to open traditionally female dominated occupations to males.

Very few studies have reported empirical assessments of women in nontraditional vocational training programs. One of the most intensive programs that has been assessed is Project EVE in Houston, Texas (Lerner, Bergstrom, and Champagne 1976). The program intervention was (1) to recruit high school girls actively into male dominated vocational training programs through classroom media presentations, bulletin boards, colorful and exciting career fair booths, and television; (2) to meet with girls in the nontraditional program to discuss problems

and offer support; and (3) to observe classes and meet with the teachers of nontraditional courses. The recruitment process doubled the number of girls in the traditionally male vocational classes. Furthermore, participation led to (1) positive attitude changes regarding taking jobs in nontraditional areas; (2) acceptance by staff of women in these areas; and (3) a decline in staff discouragement of nontraditional choices.

Beach (1977) reviewed the North Carolina New Pioneers Project. That project led to increased enrollment by both males and females in nontraditional areas as a result of recruiting, revised course descriptions, and a focus on fieldwork. During a data collection phase, a statewide assessment of the status of sex equity in vocational education was made. Several factors were analyzed in ten pilot test school systems distributed throughout the state (Smith 1976). Sex biasing and sex discrimination were evaluated in information processes, classroom atmosphere, methods of job assignment, the content of course descriptions and program brochures, and preregistration methods. In addition, a training institute program focusing on sex bias and sex discrimination was designed and implemented in forty-six school systems throughout the state. During the twenty months following July 1974, significant changes in the distribution of boys and girls in vocational education programs occurred. Significantly higher numbers of girls enrolled in agriculture, trades, industry, farm production, bricklaying, and carpentry. Similarly, home economics, foods and nutrition, and housing and furnishing saw significant increases in enrollments by boys.

Lewis and Kaltreider (1976) searched the country for schools that enrolled five or more girls in nontraditional vocational classes. Only sixteen were found, eleven of which were used in their study. Students who enrolled in nontraditional courses generally had a positive experience. They felt accepted, were interested, and were satisfied. However, they also believed they lacked background and believed their teachers were neutral toward their participation rather than encouraging. Looking at later employment, women who had taken nontraditional courses in high school were more likely to have professional, technical, or semiskilled jobs rather than clerical or service jobs. Males who had been in nontraditional programs were more likely to hold clerical, sales, and service jobs rather than semiskilled or farm jobs. Very few respondents reported employer prejudice. Unfortunately, only one-third found jobs related to their skills. Three-fourths of those who did were satisfied with their jobs.

Drawing conclusions from the small amount of data on women in nontraditional programs is difficult. It is clear that very few people are now in nontraditional programs. Based on Project EVE's experience, it will take intensive and dedicated recruiting efforts to change enrollment patterns. Although women are reported to have some adjustment problems in nontraditional programs, they do fairly well and adjust quite well when given the kind of support that EVE gave.

From the selected literature review, it is apparent that there are differences between males and females in attitudes, expectations, socialization experiences, and preferences for occupations. Further, as many cross-cultural and American studies on child rearing have revealed, these differences arise at a very early age. In a series of studies by Goldberg and Lewis, by the age of thirteen months, "girls were more dependent, showed less exploratory behavior, and their play behavior reflected a more quiet style (compared to boys' play behavior)" (1976, pp. 192-193). In contrast, the male socialization patterns investigated by Marjoribanks in cross-cultural situations, as well as in America, indicated that boys were encouraged to be aggressive and curious. The data revealed that boys who demonstrated high numerical ability were encouraged to be independent, while those boys who had high verbal ability, "a female" characteristic, tended to have close relationships with mothers who were demanding and intrusive and who fostered dependency (1979).

Finally, there is some indication that the socialization of female children is further complicated by the conflicting value patterns presented by the mother, the female teacher, the homemaker, and the working woman. This conflicting set of values prevents the delivery of a consistent role model to the young female and gives little attention to coping strategies to reconcile the conflicting expectations (Lightfoot 1979).

According to Barnett (1953, p.7) in his classic work on cultural innovation and change, innovation begins with the individual and is defined as "any thought, behavior, or thing that is new because it is qualitatively different from existing forms." Whether a change or an innovation such as equity for women, blacks, Hispanics, blind, deaf, old, young, or any different people will be accepted or rejected does not depend greatly on the inherent qualities of equity—on its "goodness" or "rightness" or legality. Rather, the acceptance or rejection of equity will depend on the characteristics of the social organization into which it is introduced, on the specific persons who are the innovators, and on those who will potentially accept or reject equity. The widespread acceptance of equity, at least

from the viewpoint of one school of anthropology, is related to the voluntary ability of a person or a group of persons to accept or reject, for example, nuclear power or the selective service. Both are legal, with one being an economic necessity and the other a mandated duty. The existence of both can have an impact on the security and status of large numbers of citizens. Still, both are overtly and covertly rejected by large numbers of citizens. Seemingly, equity, like the draft, requires a critical mass of individuals accepting the idea and then implementing the concept every day. They may begin to achieve equity first because they feel threatened, want the respect of their peers, or want to be loved or, at least, not excluded from society. It will be interesting to see how long it takes to achieve functional equity in American schools and society.

## STRATEGIES AND SYSTEMS TO PROMOTE EQUITY

From the perspective of the anthropologist, a major social change must pervade all aspects of the culture to be complete. Using the notion of the cultural universals presented earlier, most aspects of American culture have not adapted to the concept of sex, age, and racial equity, to mention just three of the most visible areas. It is recognized that in political or governmental aspects of the culture, equity has been legitimated in federal, state, and local laws. But the Equal Rights Amendment to the federal Constitution stands a good chance of being defeated and has already been voted down twice in my own state of Illinois. There is still a high level of conflict about what a "woman's place" in American culture should be. We still ask, is it "good" to be a working mother? What ought to be the preferred way of being a woman in our culture? Although women, like minorities and the handicapped, do have access to most of the high technology of our culture—they drive cars and own vacuum cleaners—few fly large commercial planes, function as captains of large, ocean-going ships, operate the giant machines, or manage the construction firms which build dams or skyscrapers. Economically, the few special groups of women who do these things are paid slightly over half of what a "normal" white male gets paid for the same level of work. Further, women are still socialized into traditional role sets, but there are encouraging signs.

A comprehensive program to make public education and, more specifically, vocational education equitable must be a multifaceted program involving parents, employers, students, teachers, counselors, university researchers and trainers, and vocational educators. The plan must recognize the early age by which sex-

stereotyped attitudes and other forms of bias are ingrained. The plan should take advantage of increasingly egalitarian social attitudes as starting points for positive innovation. Any comprehensive program must also recognize the subtlety and pervasive nature of stereotyping and the degree to which, for example, occupational sex stereotyping is supported in the home, school, and workplace. Lastly, it must make men and women aware of those biases that affect their preferences and actions. The following developmental model and accompanying statements summarize both generally and specifically the needs and recommended strategies to meet those needs. The stages are not discrete or linear, but represent a progression toward equity in all aspects of one's lifeway. Again, the specific issue used to illustrate equity in the broadest sense is sex equity.

1. *Awareness.* This stage is characterized by an honest appraisal of the norms, values, and beliefs as they have been shaped by culture. Individuals and groups specify the expectations and attitude orientations they possess about the appropriate roles of men and women in the school, the workplace, and in the society. The literature is clear in documenting the significant input of parents, particularly mothers, in the formation of women's occupational attitudes. Furthermore, these attitudes are formulated by the time the child enters kindergarten. Parent education is, therefore, essential for modifying stereotyped images held by the parent and the child. In addition, support systems for men and women in preparation for employment in nontraditional careers must be devised and implemented at the primary, secondary, and postsecondary levels to combat high dropout rates and offset social sanctions imposed by male peers and superiors.

2. *Analysis.* This stage is characterized by an examination of self. What do I believe about the role of women in the school and workplace? It is characterized by an understanding of the laws related to equity and by an understanding of what is happening in one's own life space. During this period the individual involved in the promotion of the comprehensive program acquires the knowledge and skills required to use equity concepts. One learns to identify similarities and differences among groups involved in the program and to identify points of entry into the school, the home, and the workplace. The school administrators identify leverage points to persuade vocational educators to do things differently; employers develop incentive systems to persuade supervisors to allow women to operate road graders or to captain ocean liners. Advocacy and lobbying groups maintain

the pressure on legislators to pass and fund the mandates needed to provide the legitimacy for equity. University professors continue to do research on the socialization patterns and to plot the changes or lack of them. That is, individuals involved in the press toward equity in school and society analyze their own resources and spheres of influence in the culture and make a commitment to use individual knowledge, skill, and group memberships to create the conditions for equity.

3. *Access and Action.* Access is not enough. There must be progress beyond access; there must be action. There must be equal access for boys and girls to quality services and programs in guidance and counseling, to class assignments, career preparation, training programs, curricular and extracurricular activities, work-study programs, and so forth. Equal access in and of itself does very little to change enrollment patterns in vocational education programs. In addition, career education programs that begin in elementary school and go through high school, combined with active recruiting, are necessary to accomplish change.

   Equal treatment after access has been achieved must be initiated and monitored. Students should be treated equally, regardless of sex, in class activities, student-teacher relationships, classroom climate, coeducational programming, counseling and guidance services, curriculum materials, allocation of physical facilities, vocational programs, and so forth. Language that is sexist should be reformulated. Role models should be examined to ensure that images are nonsexist. Sex-biased books, course descriptions, and recruitment materials must be removed. Biased interest inventories must be replaced with sex-fair tests. Educators and employers must display the ability to understand and appreciate racial, sex, cultural, and individual differences.

4. *Affirmation and Allocation of Resources.* This stage is characterized by the design, implementation, and monitoring of nontraditional experiences in schools, in communities, and in the workplace. Analyses are done of faculty and student assignments to classes. Class should be designed to accommodate the special needs of males and females. Support services (e.g., day-care facilities, baby-sitting services) must be made available to permit working mothers to take advantage of vocational education.

Recruitment practices are reviewed and changed where appropriate. Fiscal resources should be equitably distributed to support programs promoting sex equity.

5. *Acceptance.* This stage is characterized by continuous vigilance through ongoing evaluation and program correction. Just putting "equity" into place is not enough. Like love, it requires reinforcement and tender care. The individuals, agency, or school involved in programs to promote and achieve equity in school and work should collect data periodically to indicate the level of awareness among the staff on the issue of sex equity. These data should be used to institute, change, and continue programs to raise levels of awareness and remedy biases. Since teachers are perceived as the most important school influence on occupational choice, programs aimed at implementing sex equity must positively involve and support vocational education teachers, motivating them to encourage and support their students regardless of sex. Attempts should be made to integrate equitable programs into the various levels and components of vocational education in the state system. Employment data such as trends, forecasts, and projections should be collected and distributed to staff and students. Agencies and schools must systematically and rigorously evaluate their programs to verify the extent to which sex equity is only tolerated, is neglected, or is actively discouraged.

## THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND PROGRESS TOWARD EQUITY

If schools and teachers are viewed simply as literacy training agents, technological instruments, and vocational preparatory transmitters, then anthropology (which studies humankind as a whole and attends to differences as well as commonalities) has little to say to educators about equity. In this view of the "brave new world," every learning and work unit would be treated just like every other unit. The reality of individual differences would be eliminated and deviation from the norm in any aspect of life would not be tolerated. Certainly that is not my vision of equity.

If on the other hand, schools are viewed as the chief institutional socialization agents of a culture after the family and the community, and if the cosmology of the

culture recognizes and respects individual differences, and if the principles of cultural relativism or cultural pluralism are core values, the the study of anthropology has much to say about the educator's role in achieving equity. The concepts of culture and the theories of the anthropologist are useful for the teacher and the counselor as tools to aid in understanding the individual differences and mainstream beliefs and behaviors of the society. The discipline of anthropology can assist educators in analyzing their own behavior and the relationship of that behavior to the culture as a whole. The concept of culture is a time honored, data based way of reaching and knowing the individual as an individual, with the caveat that culture must not be used as an excuse for burying the individual in generalizations about a group. That is, concepts like "the culture of poverty" or the "culture of the deprived child" or the "lifeway of the disadvantaged" can be transformed into labels that exclude persons from equitable treatment rather than promoting equity (Leacock 1976).

The concepts of cultural relativism and cultural pluralism are powerful analytical models for describing and, in some cases, predicting group behavior. "Cultural relativity in the anthropological sense means that any act or institution must be understood as relative to the cultural system in which it occurs . . . ." (Mead 1976, p.36), but it also means commitment to the unity of humankind, to the significance of membership in one species, to the levels of interdependence in the world, and to the notion that some behaviors, like genocide, are not acceptable to humankind.

Educators can help young people achieve attitudes of relativism and pluralism. The school can help break down very early, obdurate, sex-stereotyped learnings, "particularly if the school system presents at every stage both male and female models in sufficient profusion so that the child's earlier arbitrary learnings will be questioned rather than perpetuated" (Mead 1968, p. 83).

Vocational educators, in particular, because they are so directly related to the preparation of the young person for the world of work (which occupies the major portion of the adult life), can have great influence on the young person's attitudes toward equity. American schools did a remarkable job in the period from 1830 through 1950 in socializing the children of immigrants who believed that schooling was the way to a better life, especially for men. For a variety of very complex reasons, schools are doing a less effective job for the children of post-World War II urban minority groups. One of the discontinuities between school and community

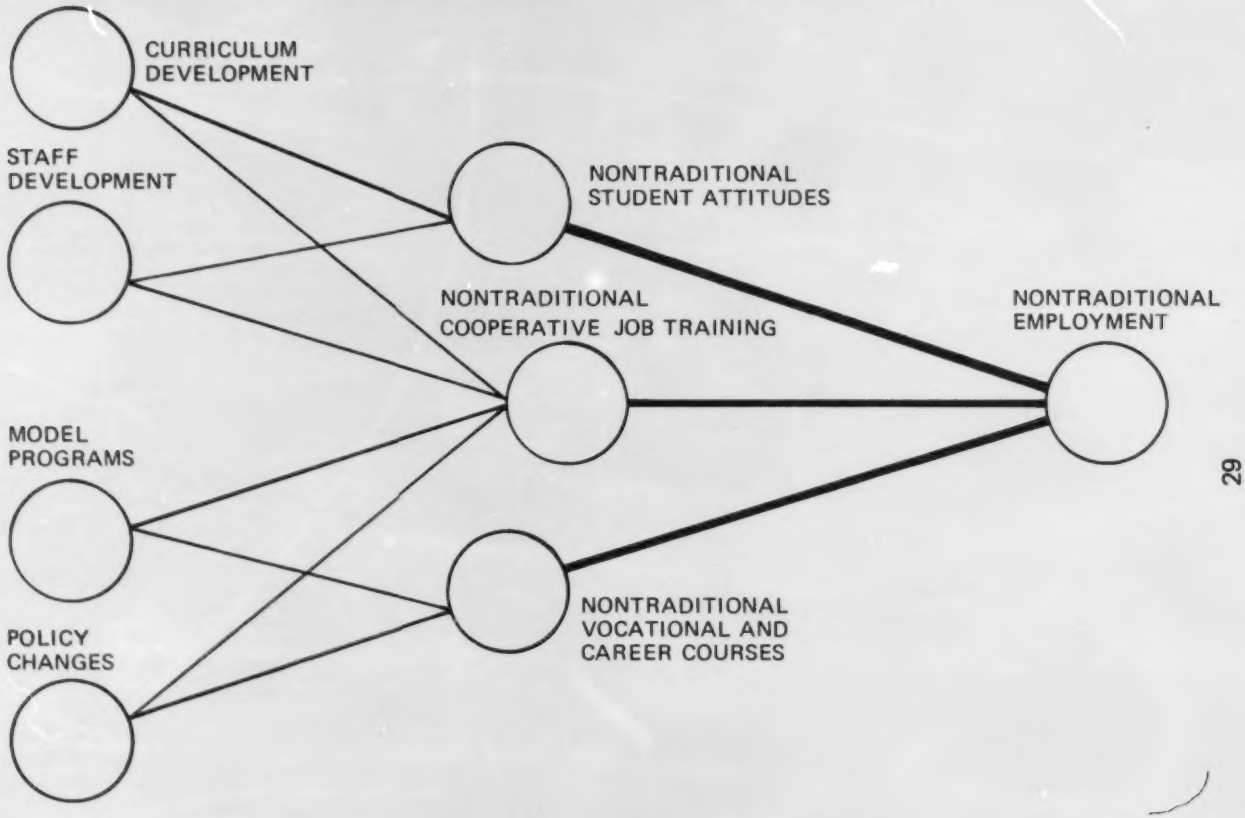
has to do with the discrepancy between what the schools value and what the parents of the children see as desirable (Hsu 1972). There is dissonance among the expectations, models, and lifeways being promoted by society, schools, students, and parents. Schools in any culture are more successful when they can transmit the values and heritage, the knowledge and skills that the large majority of the members of the culture endorse. The American citizenry is not a homogeneous population. Diversity has been called the strength of the fabric of American culture, but this very diversity requires a more complex design and interrelated pattern to maintain the unity and richness of the whole. Vocational educators who understand the commonalities and diversity of American culture can predict the need for and then implement programs in parent education and can introduce students to multicultural role models in occupations and alternative opportunities for lateral mobility in the world of work, thus enhancing the security, status, and sociability of these students.

Selected studies in anthropology can assist vocational educators in providing training for counselors and teachers to equip them with the analytical tools to systematize their experiences in trying to achieve equity. Anthropological research tools can help vocational educators to describe, explain, and remedy those conditions which promote equity.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

A polemic of this length must conclude with some specific recommendations concerning future research, policy considerations, and courses of action. The purist in the field of cultural anthropology will confine the recommendations to the area of research and typically recommend that more be done either to broaden the data base or to narrow the focus of field efforts. This is an appropriate genuflection to scholarly tradition in anthropology and most other social sciences. The daring and adventurous applied anthropologist dashes out recommendations about anything from policy to practice. Taking the path of discretion, most of the following recommendations will be made from the perspective of the traditional anthropologist with an occasional detour into the high risk world of applied anthropology.

## HYPOTHESIZED MODEL OF INTERACTION (1979–1983)
## FLOW CHART FOR PROGRESS BEYOND ACCESS IN SEX EQUITY
## IN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR A STATE AGENCY





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The literature review revealed the tentativeness of research in the area of equity. Much of the literature in vocational education falls into two categories: anecdotal reports of experiences or the results of interest inventories. Little in the literature demonstrates any methodological rigor. Samples are based on convenience rather than on criteria related to the purpose of the research. Studies in anthropology and child development, by contrast, have methodological rigor but are not connected to practice in schools and other arenas of socialization. Therefore—

1. It is recommended that the formulation of important research questions be accompanied by the scientific rigor of the anthropologist, developmental psychologist, and other social scientists. The focus of research in vocational education must be broadened if the effectiveness of equity programs is to be measured. Longitudinal and follow-up studies of the impact of experimental and nontraditional programs to encourage equity must be planned and implemented.

2. Monitoring systems must be developed at the state and local levels to ensure the incorporation of sex equity in vocational education programs. These systems should include (a) a perspective for systematically monitoring the implementation of sex equity, and (b) procedures for utilizing information available through existing monitoring systems for measuring change in sex equity for vocational education at the federal, state, and local levels.

3. Models must be developed to effect a continuum of equity from the school to the workplace. The accompanying flow chart represents an hypothesized model of interaction for elements essential to actualizing equal access to employment. This model represents a way of schematically illustrating causes and effects. Curriculum Development, Staff Development, Model Programs, and Policy Changes are summary categories of possible tactics for effecting sex equity. It is believed that these tactics or combinations of them may have an effect on student attitudes, choice of cooperative job training, and choices in vocations or careers. These attitudes and choices, in turn, have an effect upon employment.

   If sufficient information is systematically collected on each of the aspects of the model, progress toward sex equity can be charted and causal attributions can be inferred from the tactics employed. Documentation of

progress and knowledge about which tactics have been effective is important. This information can be useful to the vocational education community for making decisions about tactics.

Change can be understood by describing variability over time. Comparing changes in student enrollment and employment data over time may be an effective and efficient means for charting progress and for recognizing gains and losses. This pattern of assessing change would not posit an ideal or criterion, but would assign a normative status to the present condition of sex equity and provide baseline data to chart changes.

4. Policy decisions and action based on research must attend to the compelling data indicating that sex-role socialization takes place early in life. The implications of these findings are clear:

   a. Parents must be included in the overall equity plan. Work on sex equity must begin in the home and community.

   b. Equity education must begin in preschool and continue throughout the school career of the individual.

   c. A review of books, materials, and curriculum to eliminate sex stereotyping must be conducted at the state and local levels.

   d. Programs of study that acknowledge the role of women in history must be integrated in the curriculum.

   e. Ongoing inservice and preservice training of teachers and administrators must be a part of a general program.

   f. Nonsexist and equitable counseling at every level of education to increase options and choices to include both traditional and nontraditional occupations must be institutionalized.

Curricula should involve a variety of actors and should be developed at the local level with input from state and federal mandates. Above all, there must be an explicit incentive system. That is, what good things will happen to enhance one's security, status, and sociability when equity is implemented, and what bad things

will happen to one if equity is not implemented? This, as the advertising people say, is the "bottom line."

Where does one start to achieve social equality, sex, race, and age equity, when the data do not show a positive correlation with any one approach? Margaret Mead had the answer—"Everywhere at once."

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## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Before vocational educators can adequately meet the special needs of special groups, they must be committed to a philosophy of equitable education. The issue of equity in education has received a great deal of attention over the last ten years from the legislative, judicial, and academic sectors. As a result of this attention, research and analysis have shown that the term "equity" has a different connotation for nearly everyone who has attempted to define and apply it to educational programs. In addition, a host of related terms such as equality, disparity, and discrimination are a part of the vocational educator's daily vocabulary.

In an attempt to help vocational educators to articulate a definition of equity, the National Center for Research in Vocational Education has commissioned seventeen papers on equity from three broad perspectives—academic, vocational, and special needs. The authors in each of the three groups provide their own perceptions of and experiences with equity in education to bring vocational educators to a better understanding of this complex but timely issue.

The National Center is indebted to these seventeen authors for their contribution to furthering research on equity in vocational education.

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